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S P E E C H
OF THE
HON. LYMAN TREMAIN,
BEFORE THE
UNION STATE CONVENTION,
Syracuse, September 24, 1862,
DEFINING THE
POSITION OF THE UNION PARTY, AND REVIEW-
ING THE SPEECH MADE BY MR. SEYMOUR
ON ACCEPTING HIS NOMINATION
FOR GOVERNOR.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

The perilous condition of our country, the anomalous circumstances attending the joint call for this Convention, and the influence which its action is destined to exert upon the affairs of our State and Nation, combine to impart rare interest to its proceedings.

History of the Origin and Objects of the Union Movement.

One year ago, the people of this State, profoundly impressed with the necessity of uniting all good men for the sake of the Union, inaugurated a grand popular movement, which discarding all partisan considerations, and looking only to the preservation of our Free Institutions, swept the State with a majority unparalleled in its political history.

The Union Convention, held in this city, presented a platform at once patriotic, intelligent and comprehensive. Demanding as a test of fellowship, no allegiance to the obsolete or subordinate issues of peaceful and bygone days; exacting no surrender of cherished opinions upon questions that had hitherto divided the American people; allowing each member of the Union organization to retain his past political

status, it invoked the aid and co-operation of all loyal citizens who would sustain the government in its efforts to overthrow the rebellion which threatened its existence. The Republican Convention, held at the same time, expressed its entire approval of this policy, and united upon the same ticket, with the exception of one candidate.

The Union Convention having omitted to appoint any committee to call future conventions, the Union members of the last Legislature supplied this deficiency. Having been appointed a member of this committee, I have participated in its proceedings down to the present time. I can speak advisedly of the patriotic purposes of those with whom I have had the honor to be associated upon that committee.

They desired to make the basis of future action as broad and catholic as it was possible for them to do consistently with their instructions. Drawn from different political parties, they wished to sink the differences of the past and to look only to the salvation of their country in this time of peril. With this end they invited the co-operation of the Republican, the Democratic and the Constitutional Union committees. The result of their action was the rejection of their invitation by the two latter, and its acceptance by the former, and the call by the two committees for this convention.

The purpose of the committee with which I was associated was to make this call liberal enough to embrace all Republicans, all Democrats, and all loyal citizens who were willing to apply all their energies to the noble work of suppressing the rebellion and thus restoring the Union.

These are the circumstances, fellow citizens, under which the joint call was issued, by virtue of which you have assembled. The Rebellion still rages with all its malignant and savage fury. The reasons which prompted the formation of a great Union party last year still exist in greater force, if possible, than ever. In the meantime, recent events have conspired to give renewed importance to your action. A convention has been recently held by a powerful political party in the State, the proceedings of which have been thoroughly and intensely partisan throughout, while an elaborate argument, delivered before that body by its distinguished candidate for Governor, in favor of keeping up broad and high, the partisan walls of distinction, has been sanctioned by the convention, and the publication of two hundred thousand copies for general circulation has been ordered.

Under these circumstances, the eyes of the Union men of the country are turned to this convention. Their hopes for the future depend upon your action. Shall they be disappointed? Shall the proceedings of this body prove that it is a Union Convention in name, but not in fact? Shall it be proved by your action—action as distinguished from words

—that all the past professions of no party Unionism, are only unmeaning phrases, intended as a mockery, delusion and snare.

I have no fears on these points. The immense responsibilities of your position, and your own high character, as well as plighted faith, furnish sufficient guarantee that you will prove true to your country and to the principles of the Union organization. You are, gentlemen, the representatives of the Union War Party of this great State. Your war cry should be simple. Let it be—War to the Knife for the Preservation of our Government. Your policy is plain. Overthrow the Rebellion as it is, and you restore the “Union as it was.”

Every collateral question intended to divert attention from the great duty of prosecuting this war for the Union, by all the means that God and nature have placed in our hands, should be postponed, or laid aside. Every side issue should be swallowed up in the all absorbing purpose to maintain the constitutional authority of the Government.

Duty of Patriots in this Crisis.

My own opinion was formed at an early period in this war, that the true course for patriots to pursue in the present emergency, was to ignore all political divisions. To me, it has seemed quite clear that the highest dictates of patriotism, the true interests of the nation, and the triumphant success of our Government would be promoted in this time of our country's peril, if the people of this great State could all co-operate in their political action, and present an undivided front upon the single platform of a vigorous prosecution of the war.

I cast my eyes over the Southern Confederacy and I find that under the iron hand of governmental despotism which prevails, the people are substantially united in supporting the miserable usurpation called a government. I have longed eagerly to see the people of this great State by their own voluntary action, present a united front in sustaining our free institutions. To me it has appeared that the moral effect of such a sublime spectacle, both at home and abroad, could scarcely be estimated.

I approved, therefore, of the action of the dominant political party in tendering the olive branch, and inviting the Central Committee of the Democratic party to such a union a year ago; and it was with disappointment and regret I observed that the proposal was rejected, and that the committee declined to call the convention of the Democratic masses at a time and place designed to promote the consideration of the subject.

My views of the expediency and necessity of a great Union party remain unchanged. They are strengthened by observation and experience.

Mr. Seymour's Speech.

But these sentiments are challenged by the leaders of the Democratic party. Horatio Seymour, the candidate for governor, delivered a speech on accepting the nomination, which assails these positions. This speech is entitled to consideration.

It is an expression of the principles and views on which its author will stand or fall as a candidate for popular favor. It was approved with entire unanimity by the convention. It is no party utterance of ill considered opinions, but it bears upon its face internal evidence that it was well considered, and was prepared with much labor, care and deliberation.

This speech, being the platform selected for himself, by a gentleman of commanding influence in the state, its former chief magistrate, a prominent leader of a powerful party, and receiving the unanimous approval of the chosen representatives of that party, would, at any time, command and receive the most respectful consideration.

But it derives peculiar significance from the circumstances under which it was delivered. Our country is convulsed from centre to circumference, by a fierce civil war, which threatens to subvert the whole structure of our free institutions. At such a time, such a speech, making war upon the policy of abandoning party organizations for the present, and proclaiming the grounds on which the people of the most important state in the confederacy are requested to pronounce judgment, necessarily forces itself upon our attention.

I have read this speech with great care. Without intending to detract from the personal worth of its distinguished author, I regret that the speech was delivered, because, in my humble judgment, its effect can scarcely fail to be mischievous at this time, while its approval, by the verdict of the people, would be a calamity greatly to be deplored.

When a great public evil hangs over the country, which requires the personal exertion of every citizen to repel it, the true criterion of the merit which belongs to an oratorical effort is the effect which it produces on the public mind.

This is illustrated by the criticism which has been pronounced upon the oratory of Cicero and of Demosthenes. While the former was delivering one of those masterly orations before a popular assembly, which have come down to us in the classic language of old Rome, his hearers said, "How beautiful!" "What polished sentences!" "What flights of eloquence!" But after the great Athenian Orator had thundered forth one of his earnest, argumentative and powerful philippics

against the enemies of his country, the people cried out, with one voice, "We must fight." "Lead us forth against the enemy." The American citizen who should hear or read Governor Seymour's speech would never feel moved by it to exclaim, "I must fight. I must now aid in crushing out these southern rebels." On the contrary, his conclusion would be, if I must make war at all it shall be upon the same government against which Jefferson Davis is directing the thunderbolts of war.

His Position as to the Republican Party.

The favorite postulate upon which Governor Seymour's argument is based is, that the Republican Administration can never succeed in crushing out this rebellion. His language is:

"For another reason we cannot disband our organization. No other party can save this country. It alone has clearly defined purposes and well settled principles."

"On the other hand, the very character of the Republican organization makes it incapable of conducting the affairs of the government."

Let us see to what conclusion a belief in this sentiment would lead the people. Under the Constitution, the sole power of conducting this war devolves upon the General Government. It alone has authority to call forth the militia for the purpose of suppressing insurrection, repelling invasion, and enforcing the laws. A State Government, even in the hands of Governor Seymour, would have no power to engage in war, or to hold control over their movements one moment after the militia passed beyond the State lines. Now it so happens that Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, is President of the United States, and whether he lives or dies, the General Government will continue in the hands of a "Republican organization," until the 4th of March, 1865. If, then, the Republican party can not save the country, and is incapable of conducting its affairs, and the Republican party must hold power for nearly three years, why should I waste my efforts in a vain attempt to sustain such a government? Why should I spend my time and money in obtaining volunteers? Why should I send my son to expose his life in unavailing struggles to save my country? It can't be saved, according to Mr. Seymour, until the Republicans go out and the Democrats come in. And under the "Constitution as it is," this millennial period can not occur prior to 1865. Can volunteers be raised upon such a platform? If raised, and they believe Governor Seymour, would they be worth as much as the bounties which a loyal people are straining every nerve to bestow upon them?

In the meantime the Confederate usurpation is acquiring consistency and strength by lapse of time, and the soil of loyal States is invaded by the hosts of Rebellion. Treason runs riot, and the country presents one grand carnival of crime. Hold on, loyal citizen! Restrain your rising indignation! Be patient! Don't get excited! The Republicans rule! The country can't be saved by them! According to Mr. Seymour, the Democratic party alone can save it, and they can't commence the work of salvation until about three years hence!

Such an argument is calculated to extinguish the patriotic ardor of the people. Its indorsement in this State would be something for Jefferson Davis to be thankful for in his next thanksgiving proclamation. It seems to me, with great respect, to be a sentiment, which can never be sanctioned, unless the people are prepared to say that the Rebels have triumphed, and the War for the Union shall be no further prosecuted. And yet this chilling assumption runs through the entire speech, and constitutes one of its leading topics.

Certainly Governor Seymour cannot entertain a thought of supplanting the constituted authorities by a Dictatorship, or any other usurpation of power. No such doctrine can be found in the "Constitution as it is;" and to that venerable paper the Governor is solemnly committed.

Now I dissent, *in toto* and in detail, from Mr. Seymour's position. I regard it as unsound in itself, and highly pernicious in its teachings. And yet it is the necessary result, perhaps, of his argument in favor of maintaining in these times organizations strictly partisan. The strength of our Government is in the people, and not in the rulers. The people are the source of all power, and if their liberties are lost they cannot lay "the flattering unction to their souls" that the responsibility rests elsewhere than upon themselves. To say that the Republican Administration cannot save the country, is another form of assuming that other parties will hold themselves aloof from the work. This is all wrong, wrong, wrong. Such partisan appeals I repudiate. Mr. Lincoln is the President of Democrats as well as Republicans. He is the constitutional head of the Government, and it is the duty of all citizens to rally to his support in defending the Government. Of his incorruptible integrity and sterling honesty no doubt has ever been suggested. Why, then, when the very fabric of Government is shaken to its foundations, should efforts be made to weaken his arms by the assertion that he cannot save the country?

Party Spirit.

Any movement should be deprecated which will strengthen the Rebels. Partisan discussions beget crimination and recrimination.

They lead to bitter denunciations of those in power by speakers and presses. They tend to divert attention from the all absorbing issue of the war. Jefferson Davis rejoices to see the formation of these parties. He has been deluded with the hope of dividing the people of the North.

Border State Men.

The truly loyal men of the Border States do not desire to see these partisan controversies. Such men as Johnson, Brownlow, and their associates, desire to see the North abandon all partisan divisions.

A Voice. How about Fernando?

Mr. Tremain said, the last he saw of Fernando Wood he stood in that hall when the Chairman of the Democratic Convention was thrown from the platform. He was then making war upon Mr. Seymour's party. Yet, he is now its high priest. [Laughter and applause.]

"Oh," said an educated citizen of Baltimore to me, "if the people of the North only knew with what intense interest we looked for a complete union among them, they would, I am sure, cease their wranglings and divisions." Such are the views of real loyalists in the Border States.

The supposed benefits of party organizations, alluded to by Mr. Seymour, have little force in a crisis like the present. Mr. Seymour's effort is to inflame and increase, rather than to mitigate, the malignity of party feeling.

Washington, having reference even to times of peace, says of party spirit :

"In governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume." With what tenfold force these warnings apply to the present condition of public affairs !

Mr. Seymour's Speech an Illustration of the evils of Party Spirit.

It seems to me that the evils of partisanship are illustrated in this very speech. The wolf howling at our doors, is the Rebellion based on the infamous doctrine of Secession. Governor Seymour devotes three columns to assaults upon the Republican party, and one sentence to Rebellion ! In that sentence the rebellion is called "wicked," and yet his heart would seem to have failed him, and perhaps he felt the

"agony of remorse," for making this remark, for he adds, in the next paragraph:

"Our government and its administration are different things; but in the eyes of the civilized world weakness or folly in the conduct of affairs goes far to justify resistance." The speaker, having attempted to show the weakness and folly of the administration, it is difficult to ascertain how far short the rebellion fell from the line of a complete justification. The excess would seem to be all that was "wicked," in the judgment of the speaker.

What an opportunity was presented to the speaker for doing good and for enrolling his name among the noblest patriots of the land! The convention was composed of delegates from all parts of the state. They had been, not long before, associated in honorable, political fellowship with the leaders of the rebellion. Much imperfect and erroneous doctrine had been taught concerning the right to secede and the right of revolution. Mr. Seymour was learned in constitutional law, and an acknowledged and trusted leader in the convention. His arguments would be remembered and carried back, by a body of missionaries, to every part of the state. The materials for proving the wholly indefensible character of the rebellion were abundant.

We look in vain through this platform argument for an able refutation of the doctrine of secession. We find liberal quotations from old newspapers, copious denunciations of the administration, apologies for the rebellion, arguments in favor of keeping up party lines, lavish declarations of future conduct, but not one single argument aimed at the heart of the rebellion. Why was this? It is easy to swim with the current; it requires boldness to encounter the frowns of an audience. But Mr. Seymour is a bold man. What but the partisanship of which I complain tied his tongue on this occasion?

Foreign Hostility—its Cause.

Mr. Seymour, in his speech, furnishes an apology for the hostility of foreign nations, which, I think, they do not deserve. He says:

"The brutal and bloody language of partisan editors and political preachers, have *lost us* the sympathy of the civilized world, in a contest where all mankind should be upon one side."

The sympathy could not be *lost* if it was never *possessed*.

At the commencement of this rebellion, England insulted this nation by her resolution to treat the rebels as belligerents. Suppose some of England's most populous counties should rise in rebellion to overthrow the Government of England. Suppose the United States Government should immediately declare that the rebels should be deemed bellige-

rents, thus, by the law of nations, placing them on a footing of equality with the rightful Government. What would England think, and have a right to think of that act?

The sympathies of the governing classes in England with this rebellion have been unmistakably manifested in a thousand ways. But the cause lies far deeper than in our newspaper provocation. One cause is the importance of cotton to her industrial interests. But a deeper cause is in their jealousy and hatred of our Republican Government and Free Institutions. They think they see an opportunity to break in pieces the Great Republic, and thus remove a powerful rival.

Our presses have said nothing equal in bitterness and injustice to numerous articles in the London Times. On the contrary, in view of the causes that would produce irritation, our presses have been free from insulting language, while the bitter things that have been published are certainly as much in Democratic as Republican papers.

North not Responsible for this Rebellion.

Again, I take issue with Mr. Seymour in his charge that the responsibility for this war rests upon the North, because I regard this accusation not only as furnishing an apology for the Rebels, but also as reversing all the teachings of History and Truth. His language is:

"Now my Republican friends, you know that the misapprehensions of the North with regard to the South, have drenched the land with blood." "Who stained our land with blood? Who caused ruin and distress? All these things are within your own knowledge. Are their authors the leaders to rescue us from our calamities. They shrink back appalled from the mischief they have wrought, and tell you it is an irrepressible conflict."

Mr. Seymour quotes with approval the eulogium of Lord Mansfield upon the law, by which individuals are protected, and the state made secure. That law declares, that no opprobrious words afford any justification for the slightest assault and battery. Will words—words indulged in as freely by the South as the North, afford justification for untold murders, and the rankest treason? If not, how is the North the author of this mischief?

The leaders of this rebellion have been hatching out this treason for more than a quarter of a century. South Carolina struck the first blow in 1832, when she passed her nullification ordinance, accompanied with a threat to secede from the Union. In the secession convention of 1860, held in the same state, her leaders declared, that the election of Lincoln afforded the opportunity, but was not the cause, of carrying out the long cherished purpose.

Years ago John C. Calhoun employed the following memorable language, in a conversation related by the venerable Commodore Stewart:

"We are, from necessity, thrown upon and solemnly wedded to that party, however it may occasionally clash with our feelings, for the conservation of our interests. It is through an affiliation with that party in the middle and western states, we control, under the Constitution, the government of these United States; *but when we cease thus to control this nation, through a disjointed democracy or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union.*"

A prominent citizen of Virginia wrote a novel called "The Partisan Leader," shadowing forth this very rebellion, and accounting for it upon the theory of the tariff. William L. Yancey, one of the ablest leaders of the rebellion, united with two other southern commissioners, in an official letter to Earl Russell, declaring that slavery had nothing to do with causing this rebellion, but that it was owing to a conflict about protection, between the manufacturing North and the agricultural South.

The records of this rebellion are overflowing with evidence, to show that the leaders plotted this treason because of their unholy ambition; because they feared they were to be in the minority, and would thus lose their political power; that, to this end, they denied, to an overwhelming majority of the Democratic convention, their legitimate influence; broke up that old party as the last bond of union, placed a traitor in the field as their candidate for president, took their chance of obtaining his election, and then, when defeated, forfeited their honor, their manhood, their patriotism, and their allegiance to God and their country, by entering on the unholy work of breaking up the Union.

Is it right; is it in accordance with the truth of history; for a great teacher of the people, at a time when our citizens should be stimulated to the performance of their duty, to remain quiet concerning these treasonable offenses, which cry aloud to Heaven for punishment, and to insist that the North, or any considerable party in the North, is responsible for them? Is it patriotic, is it right, at such a crisis to expend our denunciations upon an administration which is engaged in the work of suppressing this rebellion? Is it just, nay, is it Democratic, while rebel armies are thundering at our doors to ignore the fact, while we employ the utmost vigor in denouncing arrests of persons charged with aiding the rebels, and with discouraging enlistments, as a "usurpation and a crime?"

Mansfield's Views.

Lord Mansfield is quoted to show the importance of protecting the personal rights of the citizens by law and its certain administration. This is well enough, but why divert attention from the great issue before the country by a matter of such subordinate importance? What are the errors, or, if you please, illegal acts, committed in the loyal states, in comparison with the secession in the rebellious states? There the law is entirely paralyzed; crimes, without number, are committed daily. Union men are imprisoned, shot, hung up, murdered, for no other crime than their attachment to their country, and treason is the order of the day. The great question is, whether this rebellion shall be crushed. Suppress it, and the other incidental evils connected with the efforts to overcome it, would instantly cease.

What good purpose is accomplished by impairing the public confidence in the administration? It is the only one we have, or can have; and the rebellion must be suppressed under that, or not at all. If it is weak, let good citizens rally to its support, and give it strength. This is their right. It is their duty.

To scold at it, and grumble about it, seems hardly the noblest masculine virtue.

Newspaper Complaints.

Nor do I see for what worthy purpose fault-finding articles, from Republican newspapers, are given such prominence.

When, in the ever varying fortunes of war, disasters overtake us, editors, like other people, are prone to complain. In some cases, their complaints are founded upon imperfect knowledge of facts, and in others they proceed from a desire to bring about some reform in the administration of public affairs. But it is not usual, when proceeding with all the "solemnity of a judicial tribunal," to rely on newspapers for evidence. Neither individuals nor governments could defend against such proofs.

Some of these editors are complaining because President Lincoln is not aggressive enough on the slavery question. Does Mr. Seymour agree with them on this point? If not, does he desire to adopt their complaints founded upon their peculiar views? Is this either logical or reasonable?

Confiscation and Emancipation.

While Mr. Seymour complains of unconstitutional legislation on the subject of confiscation and emancipation, he fails to point out the better way which he would desire to see adopted. Nor does he give us

any particulars of which he complains. The proclamation he had not in his mind, for that is not an act of legislation, nor is it founded on one. Mr. Seymour indulges in general and indiscriminate complaint, without furnishing that clear and certain specification which we would expect from a statesman asking for a change of rulers. Does he complain that slaves are allowed to dig ditches and thus save the lives of our soldiers? Does he claim that slave property is so peculiarly sacred that it should be spared from the general confiscation edict aimed against rebels?

The wisdom of the nation may well be invoked to know what is the best course to pursue touching these questions, but we fail to derive any light as to the true course from Mr. Seymour's speech. The true statesman should not content himself with finding fault, but suggest the true course of action. Is it not our duty rather as patriots to sustain the Government in all its efforts to crush out the rebellion, and in case it finds it necessary to strike at slavery in self-defense, permit it to employ all the means that we possess to protect ourselves?

Let us hope, cheerfully, that God, in his own good providence, is working out the slavery problem for our nation. It may be, that in His own mysterious way, without violation of constitutional rights or plighted faith, and by the wickedness of the friends of slavery in provoking this war, He is accomplishing the prediction of the poet, concerning our country's future history:

"The nations are fallen, but thou still art young;
Thy sun is but rising while others have set;
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full rays of Freedom shall beam 'round thee yet."

Mr. Seymour on Repudiation.

There is another topic of the speech to which I will allude. I refer to the dark suggestions of repudiation, unless arrests of persons charged with disloyalty are discontinued. Mr. Seymour's language is this:

"The weight of annual taxation will test severely the loyalty of the people of the North." "Pecuniary rights will never be held more sacred than personal rights."

"The vast debt growing out of this war will give rise to new and angry discussions. It will be held almost exclusively in a few Atlantic states. Look upon the map of the Union, and see how small is the territory in which it will be owned. We are to be divided into creditor and debtor states, and the last will have a vast preponderance of power and strength. Unfortunately, there is no taxation upon this national debt, and its share is thrown off upon other property. It is held where many of the government contracts have been executed, and where, in

some instances, gross frauds have been practiced. It is held largely where the Constitution gives a disproportional share of political power. With all these elements of discord, is it wise to assail constitutional law, or bring authority into contempt?"

The debt of the nation, to which reference is here made, was contracted to preserve our national existence. It was contracted, to obtain for every citizen and his property the protection of law and order. The money has been distributed among our armies, and some of it has passed into the hands of nearly every family in the loyal states. The money markets of England being closed against us, Congress offered, as an inducement to capitalists, exemption on this debt from state taxation. This is the "unfortunate" exemption of which Mr. Seymour speaks. The Constitution declares all laws passed by Congress, supreme. No nation could maintain a stand among the civilized nations of the earth, whose public debt was repudiated.

That Jefferson Davis should have suggested repudiation was to have been expected. He has earned undying fame as the leading Mississippi repudiator. But I am surprised that Mr. Seymour should have distrusted the people so far as to suppose there was danger either of repudiation, or of "new and angry discussions" concerning this debt.

The capitalists of New York have lent their fortunes to the government, with noble and patriotic liberality. What do they think about these whispers, calculated to destroy the value of their securities? When one, skilled in predicting future events, and having a high regard for an accurate reputation, foretells repudiation, the danger is, that, if he has the power, he will see that his predictions are verified.

The people of the loyal States are the most intelligent, honest and law-abiding people on earth. The East, the West, the North, and the Middle States have made common cause in this war. Animated by one purpose, they have contributed their men, their blood, and their money to sustain this Union. In their name I repel, indignantly, the imputation that they, or any portion of them, can ever be so base as to repudiate this debt, or to harbor such a thought. The statesman who should venture to advise it, would be swept into an ignominious oblivion.

That a speech containing the views I have criticised, should have been plausible and specious, and clothed in polished externals, only serves to render it more pernicious. The hectic flush upon the cheek of the consumptive bears a striking resemblance to the ruddy hue of health. A skeleton may be decorated with silks and satins, and adorned with diamonds and golden pendants; but the inquirer after truth should not be deterred from penetrating beneath the surface by a fair and pleasant external covering.

It gives me no pleasure thus to review the position assumed by the chosen standard-bearer of the Democratic party. I have been from my youth a Democrat; and have been associated in political action with Mr. Seymour for many years. But my Democratic principles teach me that my first political duty is to sustain my Government when it is in peril against all enemies at home and abroad. I learned democracy at the feet, and in the school of that noble old Roman, who, when President of the United States, was present at the festive board, with Calhoun and other conspirators, and penetrating their secret purposes, sent terror to their guilty souls, by the memorable toast and prediction: "The Federal Union; it must and shall be preserved."

Obligations to the Government.

Born in humble life, I am indebted to this beneficent Government, under a kind Providence, for all that I am, and all that I have. I stand ready to give to its defence and support, my influence, my property, my sons, and, if need be, my life. Of what value are these without a country? I desire not to live beyond that hour when my country is hopelessly ruined, and this Union is broken in pieces. To sustain my partisan standing, I will never consent to furnish aid and comfort to the enemies of my country.

It has been my purpose to keep within the limits of the fair and open discussion invited by Mr. Seymour. My views of our duty are already indicated. The Constitution demands the execution of the laws over the whole Union; and its authority can only be thrown off by an amendment in the mode which it provides. We must fight. We have no alternative. We are bound to fight to preserve the Union and enforce its authority.

How People will Act.

The people, being compelled to choose, will be influenced by their views of the war. While that lasts it will swallow up all minor issues, and will control results. If the people have become tired of the war, if they desire to take the incipient steps to a separation by an amendment of the Constitution, if they feel that they are incapable of preserving the Union, and prefer national degradation and ruin, they will vote so that these views may be carried out. But if, on the other hand, they are resolved to preserve the unity of the country, to which God and nature point, if they are true to the lessons of their fathers, if they love their free institutions, if, in short, they mean that the war shall proceed, and that there shall be no peace, except on the basis of unconditional submission, then they will support that party which they

believe to be most heartily and thoroughly in favor of carrying it forward, and that will co-operate most effectually with the National Administration for that purpose.

Duty of the People and Government.

In the meantime the Administration must trust in the People, and the People must trust in the Administration; for we are all in one boat and must sink or swim together. The people have a right to demand vigilance and economy in all the departments of Government. They do demand that jealousies and bickerings shall cease. They require that no officer, civil or military, shall be continued one moment after a rational doubt is felt of his fitness and capacity, or of his loyalty. But while that officer is continued, they require that he shall be sustained by all the means necessary to render him useful and successful.

To the chilling accusation that the country cannot be saved under a Republican Administration, an answer is given in the fixed resolution of more than twenty millions of free and loyal people, in the tread of six hundred thousand new troops marching to the field to take their places, to aid another army nearly equal to them in numbers; in the roar of cannon on the Upper Potomac; in the ignominious defeat and flight of the flower of the Rebel army under their ablest generals, and in the glad shouts of victory coming up from McClellan's Army; all, all uniting in the sentiment that the country can and shall be saved under a Republican Administration.



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